000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114
[101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the
361 existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one
197 another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since
619 they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It
615 could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of
571 tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other
574 phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in
[601] Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who
[101] did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the correspondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá
615 (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the
197 Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged
124 to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest
114 of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá
[124] Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
•571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
302 esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[751] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is
[413] simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

/147 cont./

9) Indolence.

461 To visitors used to the intense and constant rhythm of activity and work in our great cities, it will seem strange to encounter the natives, during the day, in bed in their hammocks, asleep or entertained for hours on end in pleasant conversation. The repetition of these encounters will plant in their minds the traditional conviction about the indolence of the Indians. Perhaps it would be more exact to state that the Indian is neither the hero of hardship nor the prototype of indolence, although by temperament he is slow in his movements, as he is of spirit.

The nature that surrounds him and his way of life establishes for him a rhythm of work. He performs all those jobs that the customs impose on him: he builds his house, cuts down the forest for a clearing, prepares his fishing nets, hollows out his canoe, occupies himself with fishing and hunting, manufactures his utensils. If we do not find him busy from morning to night every day, like the civilized, it is because he does not /148/ feel the necessity of it. He does not have ambitions; he is contented with little, and he works as much as necessary in order to live. It is also certain that the depth of preconceived opinion that he feels against the civilized is not stimulus for the Indian to make an effort when he works for the "white." He will show even less desire than in his own work. He will nevertheless do a reasonable job under two conditions: a timorous respect for the white and constant supervision.

• 571 Comparing the Indians among themselves, one cannot blame anyone as stingy. It is the most harmonious economic equilibrium that one can imagine, although it is at a very low level.

*[192] Very rare are the cases, that are known, of singularly indolent types, tesé-bũhũgõ, and parasites, whom their fellow tribesmen themselves find fault with.

462 The woman, yes, finds herself busier, more absorbed as it were, in the housework (as will be seen later, VIII -- 1, a (9)), busying herself with the younger children, cultivating her clearing, and preparing the food or making some artifacts.

/157 cont./

593 888 Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).

28. There was shown to us in Uaracapá (river Papurí), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children.

We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

[764]

156 571 At least while they are living in their own environment, they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

156 /158 cont./
• 571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

648 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in
156 his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[192] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive
*[797] them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkó-boho, to forget. The

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals are hunted along the river banks.

[823] [146] [224]

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

[103]

361 614 615

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When women from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cultivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some [462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned • 571 social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made [831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are [183] highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An [576] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the [123] *Buhúkiwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land.

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is.

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a gibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

264 574 123 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkiwa* to pay a courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 758 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 571 866 [857] The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 183 571 431 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy [123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable intimacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

261 183 571 431 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 183 571 431 522 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 183 571 431 578 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it, that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

[754]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

433 184 361

There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiarí than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

361 614 432

614 433 574

[421]

[431]

433 261 571

Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

433
571 •
(261)

ives the amity of the highly knit sib community; the other, and a related condition, is that the total economic product is divorced from considerations of status and power. Thus, the Cubeo cannot think of economic advantage as a political advantage over others, and, conversely, they cannot regard the economic advantage of others as a threat to their own autonomy. Economic equalization through the various formal channels of distribution is taken for granted. There are no sanctions or techniques deliberately designed to promote equality, but simply provision of sustenance for all persons within the network of kinship and friendship.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

601
614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedíkwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedíkwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piaráwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piaráwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of
[614] a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[796] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561
562 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
796 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of ceremony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi-
[593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

5: Goldman C-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden.

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away.

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends.

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikü*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikü* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

There is a strong preference for taking a wife from the same sib from which one's mother has come. This establishes a pattern of cross-cousin marriage and creates a very close bond between the maternal and paternal sibs. The *Bahúkiwa*, for example, are closely intermarried with the *Byóiwa*[1] and the relations between these two sibs accordingly are cordial, even warm, in contrast to the stiff relationships that generally prevail between sibs of opposite phratries. Preferential marriage into the mother's sib arises naturally from the strong bonds of affection and of formal relationship between brother and sister. The principal way in which brother and sister maintain their ties even after marriage has separated them is by arranging for the marriage of their children to one another. We have seen that the grandchild is called a "little affinal," a designation that I have taken to mean that a man, having arranged for his son to marry his sister's daughter, regards the offspring as a contribution by the affinal sib to his own. He has the satisfaction of regarding his sister as responsible for this. She has succeeded in getting something from the "other" sib over to his sib. In this way, exchange, which is the greatest of human binders, is kept active.

From the point of view of the boy, marriage with a father's sister's daughter also seems most natural and certainly convenient. Having had virtually no opportunities for courtship, he does not know where to go for a bride. His father suggests that he visit his aunt in his mother's sib and his mother is delighted that her son will visit her kin. There is no more desirable guest than a boy who is visiting both his father's sister and his mother's kin. The warmth with which he is received should put even the shyest boy at ease. There are, to be sure, other opportunities for finding a bride, but by and large even the most aggressive young men still prefer to go to a community where the way has been smoothed for them. Since Indians travel mainly to visit kinfolk they are more or less bound to marry a woman from a sib from which, if not the mother, then a brother's wife has been taken.

Work in the rubber forests has broadened opportunities for marriage because men from different tribes are brought together and form friendships that allow them to visit one another and to exchange sisters. But even with these opportunities the preference for marriage into the mother's sib is still strong. A boy's parents will have opened the negotiations for him. There is no formal betrothal, but there is a kind of understanding that a particular marriage will

[1] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* marriages at the end of this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

6

Leadership and Authority

Leadership among the Cubeo follows a principle that tends to understate authority. This principle asserts that leadership derives from giving more than one receives. Authoritarian relationships, by contrast, follow an opposing principle, that of receiving more than one gives. Authority, to be sure, can be established on a personal basis of personality and prowess. However, societies that have developed strong authority systems have usually done so by economic means, by inequality in the flow of goods. An authority system based on unequal flow of goods upward, from the community to a chief, is likely to respond quickly to economic development, and at the same time to foster economic growth. The Cubeo theory effectively minimizes the economic impact of leadership. The principle of greater flow to the top creates the condition for an expanding economic-political system, whereas the principle of greater flow from the top down creates the conditions for a static political-economic system. The economic role of the Cubeo headman is confined largely to stimulating the production of chicha. In short, the Cubeo headman gives all of his effort and ability to the community. The community, for its part, has no obligation to give anything to him. Since he has no authority to command economic productivity, for he is not an economic redistributor, he is devoid of significant economic function. At the same time the headman is a secular figure; he has no greater magical or religious powers than any other and so he is lacking in sacred authority. He may be a war leader, but he need not be; and even when he is a war leader, it is a very small party that he commands. Thus,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment [592] is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus 622 614 554 not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Ómbawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [709] man. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bahúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

692 No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

622 614 574 273 156 Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding [554] presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kendmi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that [47] their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

622 614 571 578 156 The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed [157] about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

622 648 156 The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor [614] recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

660 There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

888 [593] [570] as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and companionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mistakenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly enough. When I was among the *Bahúkiwa*, an aged lady employed all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her husband, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my favors.

888 123

888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahúkiwa* couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened, but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake. The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca. Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees to be used in manufactures.

[18] [769] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads. The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the spirits of the more recent dead.

DEATH

761 [754] 763 Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center.

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough.

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers.

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihí* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

11

Religion

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpuānua* and *Kúwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of relations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one neither commands nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship with a supernatural being.

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikũ* they come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

121

count the concern is with the structure of relationships, that is, with the more fundamental principles and patterns of social behavior. In deriving such principles and patterns we are now ready to go beyond those elementary and very general theoretical doctrines according to which culture is an apparatus for satisfying basic human needs. By now this doctrine impresses us as both obvious and tautological. Cultural anthropology seeks a characterization of distinctive cultural types rather than a generalized characterization of Culture or Society. In its recognition of the distinctiveness of cultures, cultural anthropology is close to history in method and aim. In its search for general principles it is close to sociology. The proper route of cultural anthropology, therefore, lies somewhere between the poles of generality and of uniqueness. Thus, in the summation of principles and of patterns that I am about to present, my aim is to find a level of analytic abstraction that is specific enough to characterize and to identify the Cubeo and yet has enough generality to provide a basis for identifying the broader sociocultural type to which the Cubeo may belong. The justification for a level that is between the generalizing and the particularizing is that it offers promise of greater analytic refinement than a level at either pole. The problem is to move as closely as possible to the ultimate uniqueness of a cultural configuration without losing the capability for comparative study. After all, one can profitably move up the scale from the particular to the general, but there is no good way of moving down. The aim of the present analysis, therefore, is to depict what is specifically Cubeo and yet allow bases for two successively broader typological characterizations, namely, tropical forest economies of South America and "simple" horticultural economies in general.

LINKAGE AND AUTONOMY

571
614
615

With respect to social structure, the most fundamental Cubeo principle involves a relationship between the apparent opposites of linkage and of autonomy. That is to say, the Cubeo will find a way to assert their independence of each group of which they are a part. The clearest example of this principle is the relationship between phratry and sib. What this relationship brings out is not an antagonism between opposing principles of collectivism and of individualism but rather a complementarity. The phratry does not impede the autonomy of the sib. On the contrary, it fosters this autonomy. It does so by fostering a strong sense of sib identity; for the consciousness of sib identity is actually heightened by the enforced relationship of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

sibs with one another, particularly in ceremony. Since the phratry represents a fraternal federation, promoting peace and security, the political and economic autonomy of a small and therefore potentially weak segment encounters no additional external threat. Thus, as we have seen, the phratry, by providing a zone of peace and security, facilitates sib fission, which may be regarded as a still further development of autonomy.

For the Cubeo, autonomy and linkage are equally strong attractions, and I think it is fair to say that they cannot visualize one without the other, or one as stronger than the other. The compulsions to form and to proliferate linkages are balanced, so to speak, by provisions for maintaining the identity and the potential autonomy of each component segment. No linkage is established that will interfere with autonomy, and, in fact, many linkages are established for the purpose of providing greater autonomy. Ceremonial friendship is a case in point, illustrating the way in which a self-initiating and hence autonomous paired relationship grows out of and complements, as well as extends, patterned relationships that have traditionally been established by kinship and by sib membership. In viewing Cubeo social structure, one is inclined to suspect that when relationships have become too solidly established, a way is found to assert the autonomous complement of that relationship. The striking oscillation between phratric solidarity and sib isolationism observed in the drinking parties may perhaps also be attributed to this very strong Cubeo tendency to assert autonomy wherever collectivism looms large. We shall return to oscillation as another principle of Cubeo social structure. At this point, we may review the principal linkage-autonomy relationships that have been described for the Cubeo. The following relationships are included, going from the largest to the smallest segments and fragments of segments.

1. *Tribe-phratry.* This is not an actual but only a potential relationship, since the Cubeo tribe has virtually no structural significance. If the principle that we have described as to the nature of linkage-autonomy is correct, it would follow that if the tribe were ever activated as a sociopolitical entity, the phratries would emerge as even stronger entities. This, however, is only an academic speculation. More pertinent is the hypothesis that the Cubeo phratry is weak because it lacks a higher, a more collective, counterpart against which to assert itself.

2. *Sib-phratry.* In this relationship we see the classic statement of linkage-autonomy. The phratry as the collective entity heightens the significance of the sib as the autonomous counterpart. The implica-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

571 614 tion of this statement would be that the development of the sib organization out of perhaps some more amorphous form of patrilineal, patrilocal organization is to be attributed to the process of federation itself. That is to say, by confronting a series of equivalent segments, each segment undertakes to assert its own clear identity. A sib, after all, is a unilinear descent group that has undertaken to differentiate itself categorically from like groups by means of such obvious symbolic devices as a name, a common tradition, and a theory of common descent. In the absence of federation this process of categorical self-identification would probably not occur. The process of sib formation, as a consequence of federation, is alleged in this instance for the Cubeo only. It may, however, prove to be a more general process. Elsewhere in the tropical forest the clan organization (parallel to the Cubeo sib) is associated with moieties. The apparent exception of the Witotoans is in all probability simply a matter of incomplete information.

571 614 621 3. *Independents and Satellites.* It is at this social level that the issues of linkage-autonomy can be most readily analyzed. From the standpoint of those who have removed themselves some distance from the sib, the issue is simply that of autonomy with its counterpart, a circumspectly defined linkage to the main body of the sib. The issue of autonomy arises specifically in relation to the authority of the headman, limited though such authority may be. The Satellites and Independents do not disengage themselves from the sib; they are content simply to assert their autonomously considered degree of independence from the headman. The differentiated form of the Satellite and Independent house may be a practical expedient for building a small house. Nevertheless, it does illustrate graphically the point of linkage-autonomy, since the square house, as has been demonstrated, does not meet the requirements for total autonomy with respect to sib functions.

571 592 614 4. *Sib-household.* The household, as has been demonstrated, has its clearly defined zone of autonomy. It has its own compartment in the maloca; it prepares its own food; it has its own manioc plantation; and it contributes its identified share of the chicha to both intrasib and intersib drinking parties. No one who has lived any time at all among the Cubeo can fail to be acutely aware of the assertion of autonomy, within the context of linkage, of each household. A sib-lineage and a lineage-household relationship along the linkage-autonomy gradient did not emerge clearly enough in my study to be included in this discussion.

592 571 5. *Patrilocal household–wife.* The demand of a newly wed wife for

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband.

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack.

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart.

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

571
(621)

main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favor autonomy over linkage.

It is evident that the foregoing discussion of linkage-autonomy is in many respects simply a restatement of the familiar concept of segmentation. There are, however, significant differences that justify the use of other terminology. Segmentation as defined by Nadel (1953, p. 177) refers to a more limited set of relationships than have been included here. As an example of segment he describes a "hierarchical structure being arranged in an order of progressive inclusiveness, as lineages, for example, build up clans, and clans build up a tribe, or as several village communities form a district, and several districts the state. . . ." From the standpoint of this definition, Cubeo society is, of course, segmentary. The concept of segmentation, however, is purely objective, and as such is pertinent to the purposes of social anthropology. However, the term "segmentation" carries no cultural connotations, since it does not define the point of view of the members of the culture. Therefore it is inadequate for the aims of cultural anthropology. The concept of linkage-autonomy, on the other hand, expresses a cultural, a Cubeo, point of view and indicates how this point of view is embodied in social structure. This Cubeo point of view, which places a value both upon extending relationships and maintaining autonomy, goes beyond the structural patterns that are commonly included under the concepts of segmentation. It is a more inclusive concept.

LATERAL AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

All social structures are regulated by bonds of relatively equivalent status relationships, as well as by bonds of nonequivalent or unequal status relationships. The former, existing on roughly the same social plane, are called lateral, and the latter, existing on different social planes, are called hierarchical. Hierarchy is always a culturally defined term and represents a clear-cut distinction of relative worth. Lateral is also a culturally defined term, but laterality is not a clearly set relationship of status equivalence. Hence it must be modified by the adjective "relative." The ranking of sibs is a clear example of hierarchy among the Cubeo, whereas kinship relations, including ceremonial friendships, are lateral. However, since kinship relations also embody formal principles of hierarchy, such as generation, seniority, consanguinity, and affinity they are lateral only by contrast with the strongly hierarchical distinctions of authority, power, pres-

571
602
554
(614)

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

571
621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

PERIODICITY

571
614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds
(574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by
(621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps
(615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol-
571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to
152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans-
(578) formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

POLARITY - COMPLEMENTARITY

The complementary role of conceptual opposites is, of course, a universal type of cultural patterning. Cultural distinctions occur in variations of the pattern. Under any circumstances, the general pattern of polarity-complementarity produces a mode of order and hence of social cohesiveness. In Cubeo life, polarity-complementarity is very strongly expressed. Its most prominent area is the male-female polarity. From a purely sociological point of view, the male-female opposition would seem to be a reflection of the patriliny-patrilocality of the sib, in which the women are outsiders as wives and outsiders-to-be as sisters and daughters, while the men are the permanent group. To this basic social condition the Cubeo add a variety of symbolic modes of opposition. Those that have been described include opposing but complementary roles in all ritual. In the ancestral cult and in mourning ceremonies these distinguishing roles of men and women are very sharply delineated. In ritual, men supply order, while women give spontaneity. Since female spontaneity in ritual is evidently complementary to masculine formalism, it is to be understood that we are dealing here with a somewhat dramatized rather than with a "pure" spontaneity. Generally speaking, and using the Durkheimian categories broadly, the men represent the sacred side of life and the women the profane. However, in the case of the Cubeo the female as profane is a complement of the sacred and not altogether outside of it.

From a more secular point of view, the male-female distinction can be expressed in terms of a collectivist-sectionalist dichotomy: the men represent the collectivism of the sib, the women the sectionalism of the individual household. The contrast between the gregariousness of the male play pack and the solitariness of the little girls is perhaps the most pointed demonstration of this distinction. Another illustration of this pattern is in the form of the dance in which the girls slip under the linking yokes of the men's arms, occupying, so to speak, interstices of the dance pattern. The collectivist-sectionalist distinction is also clear in economic activities. Hunting and fishing are commonly collective, whereas female-prepared food, that is, manioc cake and tapioca porridges, are largely sectional (household). If we were to attempt a hypothetical linking together of the various patterns of Cubeo culture we could argue that the principle of linkage-autonomy is related to the broad principle of male-female polarity-complementarity, on the grounds that the male side in relation to the female

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

571 562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 796 152 The second most important area in which polarity-complementarity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvious distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that, as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moderate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 765 614 152 [615] 152 571 574 614 273

571 574 273 562 152 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

The relationship between the patterns of calm-frenzy and linkage-autonomy appears also in the juridical area. Here, as we observed, justice is carried out not in an atmosphere of calm deliberation but in an atmosphere of high excitement, as befits a situation in which the collectivity of the sib has been broken both by commission of the crime and by the act of expelling the offender. The juridical is not a ritual area. The example, however, demonstrates the continuity of ritual polarity-complementarity with a more general patterning of mood.

PATTERNING OF MOOD

The point has been made repeatedly that the Cubeo will undertake no significant action unless the mood is appropriate. The previous example of the juridical process is illustrative. Punishment or vengeance must correspond with appropriate anger. Ritual acts and dances are omitted when the mood is wrong. All collective enterprises of the sib, such as hunting, fishing, foraging, and house-building, require a mood of geniality. When such a mood begins to break, a fairly rapid chain reaction ensues. The sense of collectivity weakens and this, in turn, darkens the mood. This cycle of mood periodicity has been discussed in the context of the drinking party. In a different context it applies to other major collective efforts such as house-building, which also follows a cyclical rhythm of spurts of work alternating with lulls. The fishing cycle is still another example of Cubeo dependence on mood.

OVER-ALL PATTERN

Some examples of linkage of smaller patterns have been presented to suggest at least the possibility of describing Cubeo society in some broader and more inclusive terms. The problem, however, is that the concept of pattern is a hypothetical construction based upon calling of attention to analogies or parallelisms. The method of pattern construction is largely intuitive and the demonstration of its validity is largely a matter of presenting a credible argument. Despite these self-evident scientific shortcomings there can be little doubt that the presentation or analysis of a culture without the concept of pattern must involve a serious distortion of reality. The aim of a theoretical construction that would present a culture in terms of over-all pattern is to provide appropriate bases for a more sophisticated culture typology than anthropology presently possesses. Pattern need

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
● 571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all
[428] other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos. What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[2] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit relationship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover, though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary complement to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the sociocultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[2] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

what it was yesterday. Moreover, the concept of homeostasis, like that of pattern, is a theory of society. As a theory it rests upon further theoretical assumptions as to what are the significant relationships, what are the normal patterns, and what are the disharmonious and stressful interactions. In the final analysis, a theory of homeostasis deals primarily with the ways in which a society handles conflicts and stresses. From a broad perspective, one can say that Cubeo society depends rather heavily upon what might be called "mood management" for equilibrium. Its homeostasis rests a good deal less upon networks of reciprocal obligations and upon formal exchanges of goods than, let us say, in Melanesian societies. The clearest illustration of this Cubeo equilibrium principle is in the role of the headman. In Cubeo culture he is not an economic redistributor (the drinking parties cannot be regarded as an economic exchange) but a regulator of community sentiment and of good feeling. However, the nature of Cubeo equilibrium is best considered at each particular level of social integration.

Cubeo society may be presented diagrammatically as encompassing five orbits of relationship, arranged in order of progressively weaker bonds of unity. The innermost orbit is represented by the male siblings, the nucleus of the sib; the second orbit is the sib itself; the third orbit is the phratry; the fourth, the affinal kin; and the fifth and outermost, the tribe. The brother-sister relationships and the husband-wife relationships may be regarded as within the confines of the first and second orbits.

Each orbit has its own characteristics of equilibrium. To take them in reverse order: Tribal unity is so tenuous that fragmentation into subtribal units is of little consequence. New combinations are readily formed and whatever disturbance this may cause is very temporary. Tribal continuity rests upon tradition and common language and customs, on the one hand, and upon the phratric organization, of which it is a summation, on the other. With respect to tribe, the question of equilibrium is more pertinently not what holds the tribe together, but rather what there is to disperse it. Tradition and common customs and language are little more than bonds of inertia. Once set, they hold unless some stronger force intervenes. Against what counterforces are the relatively weak bonds of tradition to contend? The answer is that there are no such counterforces arising from within the society, since tribal unity has no tasks to accomplish that could involve stresses and strains. Paradoxically, the very absence of a tribal leadership is a source of unity. By virtue of the linkage-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

safeguards sib solidarity. On the other hand, when the disputants are of different sibs it is relatively easy for the issue to embroil the sibs as entities and correspondingly difficult to confine the issue to the actual principals. The fiction of phratric consanguinity notwithstanding, the sib is still, in Cubeo thought, a natural unit that holds within itself the constant potentiality of antagonism toward the fellow sib. The fact that each sib arrives at a drinking party or other ceremony armed and as a unit is the symbolic expression of latent antagonism. The ritual theme of dissolving the semblance of sib unity through intoxication is presumably counteractive to sib solidarity and antagonism. Yet this counteraction via intoxication contains the paradox of bringing the undercurrents of antagonism to the surface. To be sure, when a quarrel occurs in the late stages of a drinking party it often is isolated because the other sibmen may not be fully aware of what is going on. The safety device does work, to a degree and for a time. Moreover, some men are known to be quarrelsome by temperament and are consequently ignored. Granted all these mitigating circumstances, it is easy for a man to involve his own sib in a dispute with another. When illness and death occur, one conclusion is inevitable. That is found in the expression "*they* want *us* to die." This theme recurs in the funeral orations. Perhaps it is because the Cubeo sibs have a history of separate though related origins and a tradition of past antagonisms that present-day intersib hostility can flare, and is expected to flare, even though the issues that disturb them are, at bottom, trifling. However, in conformity with the minor nature of the disputes is the absence, in recent times, of intersib warfare. The disputes result in coolness and social distance and not in organized fighting. In summary, phratric unity is readily disturbed but never very seriously. It is restored by the process described under "Periodicity." It is because the issues are not irreconcilable that the social "governor" that restores peace by separation can work so well

The orbit of the sib has the same general form as the orbit of the phratry, with the formal difference that the sib has a leader whereas the phratry has no leadership at all. In the sib, moreover, all the ties are substantially firmer than in the phratry. Since the cultural view holds that sib unity is a natural expectation and since there are no important issues dividing sibmates, we are faced with a truly difficult theoretical problem in accounting for sib fission. The common explanation, that fission of local groups in simple societies is due simply to insufficiency of food in the immediate locality, does not apply to the Cubeo, who, at least in modern times – a period of population decline – are not confronted by land shortage. There is, in

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally. Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a complex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken — and even then only moderately.

As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the prevalence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordinarily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship? Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pathology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

571 578 614 154 571 614 578

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punishments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse sentiment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

[622] [627] [626] [622]

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

571 614 593 621

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

571 614 593 621 and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 571 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

121 174 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of